1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

wenumapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul-on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[24]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[25] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kütralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *n·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renü* with which they were formerly associated.[26]

[24] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[25] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[26] Housse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

775 While it is universally agreed that the souls of the dead continue to exist in the afterworld, the manner of existence is variously and only vaguely described. As a rule, the belief prevails that men and women carry on shadowy replicas of their lives on earth, following the same pursuits, raising the same crops, marrying, and having children.[27] Informants were unable to say whether spirits die in the other world, but it was explicitly stated that the souls of the dead are not reborn on earth in the bodies of babies. Departed spirits are considered capable of exerting some influence on the living, especially through the agency of dreams. If they are displeased by their funeral services, or if they are manipulated by witches, spirits can wreak harm on mankind, but no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out.

---

live on in clouds, and witches are chained in active volcanoes. Compare Cooper, 1946, pp. 736–37.

[27] Molina (1808, p. 81) made a similar statement: "The soul, when separated from the body, exercises in another life the same functions that it performed in this, with no other difference except that they are unaccompanied with fatigue or satiety." See also Latcham, 1924, pp. 580–81.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popular tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the use of various things associated with heat and light. They are known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the exercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[753] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [177]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pillí* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pillí* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pillí*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pillí* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775 ●

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 753 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the [764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few [764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 797 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellū is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Hvilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

764

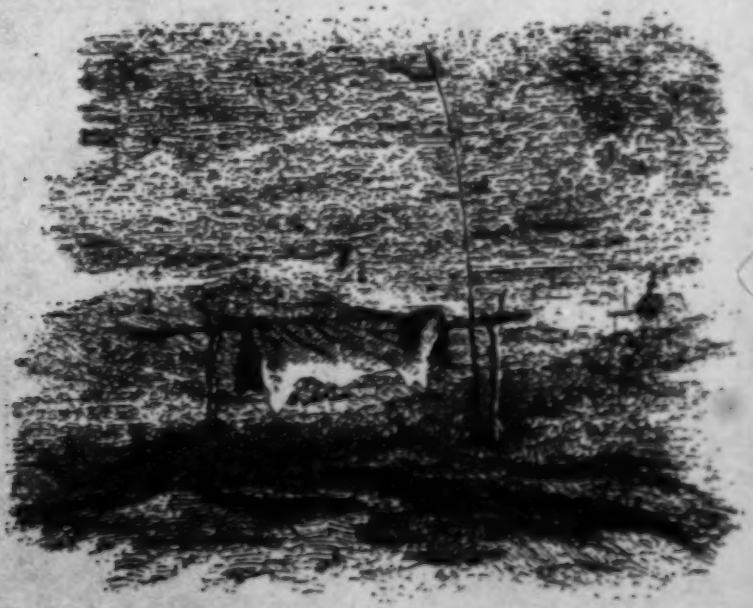

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1855, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Hosse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (*collón*: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and promised as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[9] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cotiripe and Pangipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (rarán), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[9] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952.

842
787
842
775
845
262
843
[128]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture.

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepóe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place."

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaiwülu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.)

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

795 tion was asked); the machi that are also kalku, because these dealt with wekufū; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's ruka; the wekufū themselves.

THE ÑILLATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

796 Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as ñillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as las rogativas (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our ñillatun."

Until recent years the ñillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An Alepúe man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the ñillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a ñillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a ñillatun at that time, too." Today, the ñillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete ñillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Coñaripe] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next ñillatun."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, [illegible] to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 262 [171] The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

● 775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's juriadiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 775 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living [774] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap- [754] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 628 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes- [754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

"Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko ñetuln*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*filla-tun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
798 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon
195 death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the
[764] cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chilcans.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 787 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*pcuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person 763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of 775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
796 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *nillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
769 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
796 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
794 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *fiesechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *fiesechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 787 witifu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 **Anumko and shompalow** are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *ocelotmallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The **shompalow** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally all the beliefs of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. The *cherufe* portends death when passing over a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [K3] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English.

• 775 Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and peanimistic spirits in the conception and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*ñidunon*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

[552] [553]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Females do not undergo a
naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *ańchimalleu* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Ańchimalleu* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *ańchimalleu* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle, usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

787 seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other
786 episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

795 The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with
787 *witranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest
539 because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of fachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he 539
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fiachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of 522
levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other *wekufe*, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578]
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my 752
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic *is also practiced by* sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except *insofar* as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 121 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [796] [764] [789] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 795 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") *is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed* in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in the *reñu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only *kalku* are able to enter the *reñu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *reñu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are concerned, many who live uxorilocally (even for obvious eco-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *nillatun* rites; *white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow* figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of